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JAPANESE ATTEMPTS AT INDOCTRINATION OF YOUTH IN OCCUPIED AREAS

The Japanese have made an intensive effort to enlist support from the youth of the Philippines, the mandated islands, the Netherlands East Indies, French Indochina, Burma, and to a lesser extent Thailand. With the double purpose of indoctrinating the young people in Greater East Asia war aims and encouraging youth participation in labor and defense activities, they either have established their own youth organizations or have attempted to work through existing groups. Japanese propagandists claim huge memberships for the Japanese-sponsored groups. However, the youth in the Japanese Outer Empire appear to have responded only moderately and in some cases have been more interested in using Japanese training and facilities for achieving their own nationalist aims than in supporting the Japanese war effort.

Philippines

Youth organizations were a relatively late-developing part of the Japanese propaganda campaign in the Philippines. These groups, whose size appears to have been exaggerated, were reported only around Manila in the area of strongest Japanese control, however, and presumably only a small proportion of Filipino youth had been reached by the time of the American invasion.

In July 1943 the Kalibapi, then a non-political service association sponsored by the puppet government, announced that a youth organization would be formed for the training of the future leaders of the "New Philippines." The Junior Kalibapi was to include all youths between the ages of 9 and 18, and prospective youth leaders were to receive a training course in Japanese language, culture, and organizing techniques. The following March, the Acting Director-General of the Kalibapi urged a mass rally of Manila youth to "strengthen the country's will to survive and to attain her rightful destiny as a freedom-loving nation."

Apparently this first effort was unsuccessful. When in May 1944 the Kalibapi was reorganized into the sole political party under the Japanese, the Junior Kalibapi was abolished and a new organization, "Rizal Youth," was set up for the estimated four million Filipinos from 6 to 21. A "co-ordinated and extensive movement" among school children and youths outside school was to be carried out during the academic year through the medium of "joint action" and "common responsibility" of the school, home, and community. The future citizens were to be "possessed of

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strong national spirit and imbued with the will to produce, the passion to serve, and the sense of mission."

In addition to those sponsored by the Kalibapi, various other youth organizations and movements have been reported in the provinces adjacent to Manila, sponsored either by the Japanese or the puppet government. The program followed in the Seamen's Institute is a good example of methods of indoctrination used by the Japanese.

The Seamen's Institute was a special school which purported to teach youths from 14 to 28 years of age "how to run a ship and how to act like Orientals." The leadership and reorientation part of the training included a swim in Manila Bay "marked by the recitation of a prayer in the Japanese language while the swimmer is still shoulder deep in the water." The day ended with a ritual in which the 300 boys knelt and repeated after the instructor, "We are a firm link in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, gigantic structure of everlasting prosperity. . . What do we care for? Building my beloved land. Nothing can stop me from exerting all my efforts for months and years. I have been ordained by a divine power to build my country and I will obey that power."

Mandated Islands

In the Pacific islands under Japanese mandate local Japanese educators used the technique of organizing youth groups around popular recreational interests. The different attitudes of the older and younger generations indicate that the Japanese achieved some success in organizing native youth. American forces landing in the islands in 1944 reported that the elders were generally friendly, having been opposed or indifferent to the Japanese regime, while some of the younger natives appeared sullen and their loyalty has been questioned. The Japanese presumably continue to sponsor youth groups in the islands still under their control.

Youth associations in the Marshalls, Carolines, and Marianas were avowedly founded to awaken the islanders to their civic and social responsibilities as Japanese subjects, with an emphasis on spiritual and physical development. Public schools in the villages and towns formed the nuclei of young men's and young women's associations, of alumni societies, and of associations for younger people. Guidance was provided by Japanese government school teachers, assisted by police and administrative officers and interested Japanese civilians. The Japanese expected the young people to contribute voluntary labor on community undertakings. In some areas, members wore uniforms and drilled and paraded to the accompaniment of band music and school songs.

East Indies

The training and indoctrination of young Indonesians are major objectives in the program of the Japanese authorities in the Netherlands East Indies, and the Japanese have been extravagant in their descriptions

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of the immediate and ultimate purposes of the youth organizations in the different islands. While they are apparently not yet completely satisfied with the results, the Japanese undoubtedly have made a strong appeal to the young Indonesians.

Prewar Indonesian youth societies, often branches of religious or political movements or of the Boy Scouts, have been revamped and absorbed into organizations which the Japanese could dominate, with the alleged aims of "increasing the war effort," "reconstructing Java," "sacrificing for the Indonesian nation," and promoting self-sufficiency. The youth of the Indies are urged not only to cooperate with the military administration for the successful prosecution of the GEA War but to "enlighten, guide, and encourage" others to support Japan's GEA aims because they lead to the independence of Indonesia. Prominent Indonesian nationalist leaders are reported to have encouraged the young people to join the Japanese-sponsored organizations. Membership in the youth organizations, although claimed to be voluntary, actually appears practically compulsory, especially in the groups stressing labor and defense services. Recruits range from primary school age to youths of 25.

The Japanese use the numerous organizations for indoctrination of the young people in Japanese war aims and Japanese language, and also to provide labor and defense services like guard duty, air raid precautions, military drill, and anti-espionage activities. The formation of a death-defying suicide corps, modeled on the Japanese *Kamikaze* groups, indicates preparation for actual military participation by Indonesian youth in the defense of the islands. The Shock Troops of the Java Public Service Association emphasized propaganda advocating obedience to the Japanese Army. The Java Student Corps, organized in January 1945 to give students military training, and training centers where "selected youths undergo a special course to make them better understand Japan's ideals and the significance of the GEA Co-Prosperity Sphere," were also parts of the Japanese attempt to rally young people to fight for GEA. Nineteen groups of Indonesian students, including sons of prominent Indonesians, have been sent to Japan since May 1943 for study and for a "military system of training." NEI youth corps members attended a GEA Youth Conference in Tokyo in May 1944 where resolutions "calling for the construction and defense of Greater East Asia through the mobilization of youth to arms" were passed.

The Japanese apparently are not yet satisfied with the results of their indoctrination of NEI youth. They frequently announce new organizations, call for the federation of existing youth groups, deplore the fact that some young men and women are still outside the organization, and urge all members to play a more active part. In some cases the regimentation and the work as well as the lack of compensation seem to have proved unpopular with the Indonesian youth. However, many young Indonesians may welcome the opportunities for technical training in the fields of agriculture, industry, communication, and navigation and training in leadership offered by the Japanese. Advantages derived from this train-

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ing along with familiarity with the Japanese language may prove an important factor for the post-war re-establishment of cultural contacts with Japan.

French Indochina

Japanese efforts to "enlighten" and win the support of the younger generation in French Indochina were greatly hampered by the existence of a local youth movement organized by the Decoux Government before the Japanese invasion. This movement, which appealed strongly to the sporting spirit and social ambitions of the growing generation, also attempted to make young people aware of their future responsibilities in social, economic, and political fields, and at least initially stressed regimentation and subjection to leadership control. Following their recent assumption of full control in Indochina, the Japanese have intensified their propaganda effort and have been trying to enlist native support with promises of "independence" as soon as conditions permit. However, even the younger generation, mindful of the material privations suffered under the Japanese, is unlikely to respond to the new propaganda effort.

Prior to 1940 when Admiral Decoux came into power in Indochina, sports were the privilege of the elite, physical education was conducted only in certain schools, and the efforts made to organize young people suffered from lack of coordination and official support. The new Government therefore was able to gain youth interest by sponsoring physical education, attempting to "strengthen the health and moral character" of the youth, and establishing various types of organization. In the large "Youth Assemblies" young men over 13 years of age who had not previously belonged to any group were organized into Rescue Teams, Civilian Defense Teams, Public Order Teams, and Traffic Control Teams, each with its own leader. Young people with common interests joined Associations for Friendship and Excursions, societies for social work, groups for mutual instruction, or the Young Men's Buddhist Association. In addition to the more than half a million school children who participated in some way in youth activities, the Sports and Youth Organizations at the end of 1943 reportedly had more than 200,000 members, about half of whom belonged to the Youth Assemblies. Through these organizations the Decoux Government attempted to give prestige and social recognition to military service and to manual labor.

The Japanese have tried in various ways to offset the success of this French-sponsored youth movement. For example, although the youth movement is open to all French and Indochinese young men and women from all social levels, the Chinese have apparently been excluded to a certain extent. The Japanese reportedly have taken advantage of the resulting Chinese discontent by trying to enlist Chinese youth in pro-Japanese organizations, under the slogan "Asia for the Asiatics." They sponsored a Federation for the Chinese Residents in Cambodia and the Haiphong Peace Preservation Corps in Tonking, and are also reported to have provided Chinese schools within the Confederacy with Chinese textbooks chosen by the Japanese.

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Furthermore the Japanese have given intensive training in the Japanese language to various groups. In 1942 they established a number of Japanese language schools chiefly among the 18 million Annamites. They also set up the Japanese Language Popularization Association which recently offered a class in the arts of the tea ceremony and floral arrangements "as a means of introducing Japanese culture among the Annamites." At the end of 1944 the Japanese claimed that "not only Annamites but Frenchmen are now attending Japanese language classes" and that 3,500 students were enrolled.

Thailand

The Japanese, as a result of the theoretical treaty relationship between Thailand and Japan, have not actively sponsored any of the three youth organizations in Thailand — the Boy Scouts, the *Yuachon* and the Military Cadet Corps — or established any new ones. Nevertheless, during the regime of pro-Japanese Premier Pibul, the unmilitaristic Boy Scouts ("Tiger Cubs"), previously under direct government sponsorship, received little encouragement. The Military Cadet Corps was a junior officer training corps attached to the regular army rather than a real "youth movement." On the other hand, the fascistic *Yuachon* Youth Group, modeled after the *Hitler Jugend* to foster militarism among young Thai, was consistently promoted.

Yuachon was founded by Pibul in 1935 when he was Minister of Defense. Its original purpose was to train "youths in physical culture, general discipline, and organized cooperation." After Pibul became premier in 1938, a Thai National Assembly member declared that the chief aims of the *Yuachon* were "to instruct and train youths in military courses, while at the same time trying to inoculate them with the idea of militarism and blind obedience to Pibul himself." The organization was made up of volunteers attracted by smart uniforms, practical training with military materiel, the resulting partial exemption from required military service, and increased opportunity for becoming officers in the Thai Army. The membership in *Yuachon*, conservatively estimated at 6,000 in 1941, was reported in early 1944 to be 25,000, of which 80 percent were in the youngest age group. The *Yuachon* was for a time jointly controlled by the Ministries of Education and Defense, but is now considered a "department" of the Thai Army, and in 1944 was renamed the Department of Preparatory Military Affairs. Since the Aphaivong regime came into power in July, 1944, however, *Yuachon* activities have not been publicized.

Burma

In Burma, while the Japanese early organized an "East Asia Youth League," this youth organization for sometime has been unwilling to accept Japanese or Governmental direction and during the last year appears to have assumed an increasingly anti-Japanese point of view. Burman youth have had a long tradition of political awareness and resented the treatment they received from the Japanese authorities.

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Prior to the Japanese invasion, the loosely-knit but strongly nationalistic Burman Student Movement was active chiefly in organizing school strikes against an unpopular examination system or in dramatizing political discontent. The principal objective of many Student Movement leaders was to project themselves into the political limelight, and organizers often became the tools of politicians. They frequently joined the revolutionary pro-independence Thakin Party, and most of the 5,000 original recruits of the nationalistic Burma Independence Army were probably Student Movement personnel.

In June, 1942, following the Japanese invasion, a group of young Burmans in consultation with some young Japanese leaders organized the Burma East Asia Youth League. The League was dedicated to the tasks of "uplifting Burma and the peoples of Free Asia in a righteous and unselfish manner," "promoting cooperation, cordial relations, and love among the youths of all East Asiatic countries," and "working for the peace and prosperity of the peoples in East Asia." A month later, however, Japanese military authorities were forced to dismiss the Burma Independence Army, causing great dissatisfaction among former members, who refused to join Japanese-sponsored organizations. As a result, the East Asia Youth League remained inactive until August 1943, when Burma's "independence" was declared.

In the interim period the Japanese organized the Young Men's Association, modeled on a highly disciplined patriotic organization of similar name in Japan. The new association was a semi-military body organized under a fixed chain of command. Members were to serve their country and their fellowmen even at risk of life and limb without thought of benefit to themselves, strive to develop a healthy mind, suppress all evil habits, and assist the authorities of the government on all occasions. During the first three months the organization, its orders backed by police threats of harsh punishment, worked hard on the price control and air raid precautions programs. Membership was never large, and the organization itself seems eventually to have been absorbed by the government-sponsored Civil Defense Corps.

Following the 1 August 1943 declaration of Burma's political "independence," the East Asia Youth League was reactivated. Subsequent to this act attractive appeals for the cooperation of Burman youth could be made in the name of Burman independence. Officers of the League went to Tokyo for extended visits to study Japanese youth organizations. The Youth League absorbed both the enthusiasm of the nationalistic Student Movement and the social idealism of the Boy Scouts, and began to demonstrate real vitality. In theory membership was limited to "persons of character" who were really willing to work for their country, and branches were to be authorized only in places where real work could be done. In December, 1943, the League claimed 270 branches, some 21,000 regular male members, 3,460 regular women members, and 5,500 special (over age) members.

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The activities of the Youth League at the outset included propaganda, social service, defense, economic assistance, and policing. League branches staged numerous rallies to enlist support for collaboration with the Japanese in behalf of Burma's independence. They recruited for the Burma Army, raised money for its support, promoted physical training, and gave instruction in the use of the rifle.

During the first half of 1944, however, patriotic enthusiasm began to wane. The youth resented making greater sacrifices than the rest of the population, and felt that the Government was trying to circumscribe and supervise its operations. In July, 1944, the League, in apparent distrust of Japanese-controlled foreign and domestic news, strongly supported the organization of a privately-sponsored Foreign Policy Association, whose declared purposes were to keep Burma "fully informed on the situation in foreign countries," and to acquaint foreigners "with the true state of affairs in Burma." The inauguration of night classes in military training, taught by former members of the Burma Independence Army, strengthened official suspicions that branches of the League were centers of democratic and anti-Japanese agitation.

Friction between the EAYL and the pro-Japanese political authorities at Rangoon came to head in August, 1944, and puppet authorities replaced the Thakin-Sinyetha coalition with the *Mahabama Asiayone* (Greater Burma Association) as the official political party. The Youth League, no longer having a place as an unofficial defense agency, was disbarred from all political activity. It did not send a representative to the Japanese-sponsored general youth meeting at Nanking in the fall of 1944. The EAYL Executive Committee officially instructed the various branches to disband their emergency units and extend full cooperation to the Government's agencies. Although the separate branches of the League continue to function, they are under suspicion and no longer publicize their activities. Some members, although still strongly nationalistic, are now known to be cooperating actively with the anti-Japanese underground movement in Burma.

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